

payment into the Treasury) they may restore it. Whoever, private or public, undertakes to restore it, takes on themselves the risk of proving that the goods were taken without authority of the law, and consequently that the captor had no right to them. The Executive, charged with our exterior relations, seems bound, if satisfied of the fact, to do right to the foreign nation, and take on itself the risk of justification. (To Secretary of State, James Madison, 1801. F. VIII., 73.)

SELF-GOVERNMENT.—Every man and every body of men on earth possess the right of self-government. They receive it with their being from the hand of nature. Individuals exercise it by their single will; collections of men by that of their majority; for the law of the majority is the natural law of every society of men. When a certain description of men are to transact together a particular business, the times and places of their meeting and separating depend on their own will; they make a part of the natural right of self-government. This, like all other natural rights, may be abridged or modified in its exercise by their own consent, or by the law of those who depute them, and if they meet in the rights of others; but as far as it is not abridged or modified, they retain it as a natural right, and may exercise it in what form they please, either exclusively by themselves or in association with others, or by others altogether, as they shall agree. (From an opinion upon the question whether the President should veto the bill providing that the seat of government be removed to the Potomac, 1790. F. V., 205.)

SELF-GOVERNMENT.—We have the same object, the success of representative government. Nor are we acting for ourselves alone, but for the whole human race. The event of our experiment is to show whether man can be trusted with self-government. The eyes of suffering humanity are fixed on us with anxiety as their only hope, and on such a theatre for such a cause we must suppress all smaller passions and local considerations. The leaders of Federalism say that man cannot be trusted with his own government. We must do no act which shall replace them in the direction of the experiment. We must not